In bringing up the children I have only observed ordinary punishments for obvious misbehavior or foolishness. Formerly education also extended into late boyhood or young manhood (83), but today it is mostly left to

83. See 88. 88. J. Clyp, Aus dem Sagenschatz der Nama-Khoi-khoin (Mitteilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft für Thüringen zu Jena, Bd. VI, 1887).

the young people themselves (see page 309). The power of the parents in training their children has declined since the whites have become dominant. Where formerly the son, /gē·ab, as long as he was only half-grown, was dependent chiefly on his father for his support and therefore also felt morally dependent on him, today he can make himself independent at an early age in the service of whites. The daughter, /gē·as, who was formerly dependent on her parents until she married, can support herself with her charms and even get all the little luxuries she desires.

But in spite of the shattering of the parents' power over the raising of the children, the prestige of the parents in the family has still been preserved. That is clearest in advanced age. The grandparents are not forced by anyone in the family to work and each person has the obligation to be of service to them. That old and helpless people are exposed, as one occasionally hears claimed in the country, is a fable in my belief or is confused with the emergency customs of the Bushmen. For such a treatment of aged people is a direct contradiction of the viewpoint of the people as reflected most clearly in the sages and tales. The address ti //nao/b or ti //nao/oa, i.e. "my grandfather" or "my grandmother" is used also as an expression of great respect for people who have no relationship whatever to the speaker. The folk tale no. XXIV gives us a picture of the domestic duties of a child.

The terms for father and mother vary, depending on whose parents the words refer to. A child always addresses its father with t!Gâb or dâ. te, and its mother with ti ais or aise: my father! my mother! The expressions dâda- b and mama· s are probably borrowed from Cape Dutch.

[301] The Hottentot feels it as a coarse malapropism that the children of the Namib Bushmen address their parents nao/b and nao/os. For these designations are reserved for the case when one is speaking of parents of someone whom one addresses as "thou", whether one is addressing a child or an old man: sa nao/b, thy father etc.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1939
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561 [578] expelled to be of service to his elders. In company, according to Olpp, only crowds may sit and discuss together; and when once a person has taken up the word, he may not be interrupted before he has had his say.[1]

561 593 In family life also respect for age is inculcated in every way. The children, as we have seen, remain in the same hut as their parents till marriage, and are thus directly dependent upon them both morally and for the means of subsistence. The authority of the parents makes itself felt at all stages of life, and they must be treated with affection and regard. This is seen especially in old age. Although, as we shall 558 603 subsequently notice, old people might under special circumstances 578 be abandoned to their fate, as among the Bushmen, yet normally the grandparents are regarded with deference; they are spared all possible work, and everyone in the family has the duty of being helpful to them. The terms *ai ||nâsi* "my grandfather", or *ai ||nâsen* "my grandmother", are used as expressions of extreme respect, not only to one's own grandparents, but also to old people in no way related to the family.[2]

561 578 593 "Among brothers and sisters the same regard is noticed for relative age. We have already seen how in the kraal their huts are ranged in definite order of seniority, and the more full that there is this tendency for brothers to live together indicates the strength of family feeling. Of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honoured place and the first voice in any debate; in family affairs his opinion carries authority. Only elders may address their juniors directly by name. They themselves must be spoken to by special terms: *oasis* in the case of the eldest sister, *aiwa* or *aiâwa* in the case of all others older than the speaker; *aboâsi* for the eldest brother, and *boâwa* for the others. The behaviour proper to brothers is due also to all the people called "brother", and little difference is made, says Mrs. Hoernlé, by the fact that they may be, for example, the sons of the father's brother, and not of one's own father."[3]

578 593 Between brothers and sisters, however, there is a strong taboo in later life, although as children they may run about together. A sister is a shy, a person to be respected, not to be spoken to or of lightly, and her brother is said to be shy, *aos*, in her presence. He must never

[1] *Ngami Papers*, 23.
[2] Schultze, op. cit., 300.
[3] Hoernlé, "Social Organization of the Nama," 91; Schultze, op. cit., 300. The term *oasis* is derived from the Dutch *ou*, old, and *suster*, sister; *aiwa* or *aiâwa* are formed with the Nama diminutive particle *-wa*. *Aboâsi* and *boâwa* are similarly derived from the Dutch *broer*, brother.

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ght be buried alive, or else placed in some exposed spot or in bushes 746
be destroyed by the elements or by wild animals.[1] Similarly,
ording to Hahn, "a man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
in according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave killed by the
ers, or enemies killed in the battle—all are left to the animals of
desert to be feasted upon, so that they will be entirely annihilated."
ch people who are devoured by vultures or hyenas are called
ama //ore khaise, i.e. people who died the //gama death.[2]
There existed among the Hottentots also the custom, already 935
ed among the Bushmen, of abandoning elderly people to their
e. Kolb describes it rather more fully than do other writers.
hen old people become helpless or decrepit, he says, their eldest
or nearest relation applies to the people of the kraal for permission,
ch refused, to relieve himself of the burden and to deliver the
fering old person from the miserable condition to which he is
duced. The son kills an ox or a few sheep to regale the men of the
al, who take leave of their old neighbour. Then, on the appointed
, the old man or woman is placed on a riding ox and, accompanied
an escort, is conducted to a small hut specially built for the purpose
some distance from the kraal. Here he is left alone, with a small
antity of provisions placed by his side, to die ultimately of starvation
to be devoured by wild beasts.[3]
This account may not be quite accurate in all its details. But there 938
ample evidence that the exposure of old people in this way was 759
mon and widespread among all the Hottentots.[4] Hahn, inquiring
o the reason for the practice, was told by the Namas that it was
sidered done by very poor people who had not enough food to
pport their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if
re was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle
milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the
luence of //Gamab, and did secretly mischief by practising witch-
ft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken,
e almost compelled to fly from them."[5]
Where burial takes place, it is accompanied by a series of rites. 764

[1] Cf. Alvarez, p. 108.
[2] Op. cit., 56.
[3] Kolb, *Description du Cap de Bonne Espérance*, 173.
[4] Cf. Grevenbroek, "De Hottentots," 141; Sparrman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 378; Lichtenstein, *Travels in S. Africa*, and; Alexander, *Expedition to the Interior of S. Africa*, ii, 1; Moffat, *Missionary Labours in S. Africa*, 133-4; Backhouse, *Narrative of a Visit to the Mauritius and S. Africa*, 554; Kidd, *Kingdoms and Nations of S. Africa*, 334.
[5] Op. cit., 60; cf. 70.

creditors. Cornelius Goliath was chief of the Bondas Hottentots, a very capable man 85
who had kept his people out of the war with the Germans, and had therefore been allowed to preserve his tribe and its lands intact. He spoke excellent German, and was much impressed with the necessity of absorbing as much of the incoming culture as would enable his people to be on less disadvantage in the common concerns of life. He was therefore not much use as an original contributor, but was invaluable as a check on the statements of others. During many weeks he had supper with me each evening, and spoke willingly of what he knew.

Common characteristics of all societies close among the Hottentots. All periods of 796
crisis in the lives of the Hottentots, whether of individuals or of groups, afford admirable illustrations of those rites which A. van Gennep has called "rites de passage." There is always the separation of the person from his usual surroundings, his preparation for a new group in society, and, finally, his reception into this group. A person in such a crisis acquires a characteristic unknown in the group to which he has hitherto belonged. He is no longer protected by any group solidarity, and is therefore exposed to danger on every side. He must retire from contact with other people, and [788]
[illegible]. But he is also a danger to other people, and more especially to the animals and other living things on which the community depends for its livelihood. Hence his seclusion and his scrupulous abstention from his usual tasks. Such a person is said to be *hana*. It is essential that he be initiated, as it were, with the least possible delay, into that group of his people which already possesses the new characteristic which he has acquired, in order that he may have a normal place in the community once more. But here there is a difficulty, for a *hana* person may work untold mischief on anyone dealing with him, who might also become *hana*. Therefore only persons who have passed through all the 796
stresses and strains of *hanaen* life and no longer fear anything, who are beyond good and 888
evil, one might almost say, are qualified to deal with such cases. Some but very old men, and women past the age of childbearing, satisfy this condition. They alone can be called upon to restore the *hana* person to the community. But not any old woman or old man will do. It must be one who has the same characteristic as the *hana* person. Only a widowed person can safely deal with one *hana* by reason *hana* of wife or husband. Only one who has had a given disease and been cured of it is fit to officiate for a sufferer from that disease. Preferably someone is selected for this task who, besides the other necessary qualifications, has had an extremely bad attack of the disease, the worse the better.

Exclusion or separation of some kind occurs in all cases, but the method of initiation, 796
if we may call it so, varies according as the crisis is one of two kinds. In childbirth,

* "Take care of himself", in quite special way. The word is used only in this connection, both of the individual himself and of others who, knowing they may be a source of danger to him, are considerate on his behalf.

marriage, puberty, or bereavement rites, the new status has simply to be recognized, acknowledged, and the necessary steps taken to protect both the individual and society by rendering the man or the woman into the new group to which he or she now belongs. This is done by the preparation of a ceremonial meal[1] in which only persons duly qualified are allowed to share. In the other group of rites, a stage preliminary to the ceremonial meal is necessary. The lone person has first to be identified with the new group by injecting some of the 'essence' of that group into him. This is done by making incisions in some part of his body, the part varying with the crisis, and injecting a concoction of which one ingredient is invariably some of the grease and dirt scraped from the body of the officiating person. This is the practice in connection with marriage, in the puberty ceremonies of the boys, in the reception into the ranks of hunters, in the treatment of diseases which are regarded as lone, etc. For diseases the injection of the essence seems almost like the administration of an antitoxin. The next stage in both groups of rites is the renunciation of all that represents the old life, after a period, more or less prolonged, of complete seclusion. The individual must be reborn. There is a special cleansing[2] of the lone person's body by the individual officiating, after which a totally new set of clothing is put on. The old clothes should be used only by the officiating person or someone else of the same group, though the tendency nowadays is to keep most of them for rough use. At the same time the house is thoroughly purified, and what might be called an "expiatory"[3] meal is eaten. For this meal but one animal is killed, and of it none but the lone person and persons who can no longer become lone may partake. Finally there is the careful reintroduction to all the familiar daily tasks which have been so long laid aside, and so life begins again with all the solidarity of the new group behind its new member.

783 Some details concerning the state of lone. It has already been mentioned that
● 855 there are certain people who are immune from all the dangers attaching to lone. This is of extreme importance, as it prevents the life of the community from being paralysed by fear of the dread consequences of tampering with an unknown and overwhelmingly great power. It might also be expected that this privileged class would have great authority in its hands, and there is every evidence that in the early days the older people in the tribe did have an exceedingly strong and important position, and this notwithstanding the well known fact that old people were exposed by the Hottentots. Even nowadays I observed that an old person keeps his power as long as he keeps his vigour and his judgment, though he is likely to have a sad life if blind he have and he is rather a burden than a help to the family.

I have observed only one instance in which animals, and more in which inanimate

[1] *ǂ|a*, lit. "killing". [2] For such a cleansing the word *|kwaiba* is used.

things, because here without some individual or group of individuals being here. This 783
is when an animal is struck by lightning. A sheep so struck is very highly here and even 789
but the very old will touch it. They cook and eat it and make use of the skin. When [24]
one realizes that the Holiness will eat any meat however high, and any animal even though it has died of disease, one realizes how strongly this here influence works in making them afraid to touch an animal killed by lightning.

As soon, however, as some person becomes here certain things also become here. 783
First of all the fire in the hut in which he is secluded is here. It must never be allowed to go out, nor must the ashes be removed until the day comes for the purification of the house and the removal of the fire. During all this time nothing must be cooked at the fire, and no one who might increase the peril in which the here person finds himself must come near it. Thus pregnant or menstruating women are always excluded. All these precautions seem to show that it is the patient's safety that is bound up with the fire. The here fire must be respected, not because other people may suffer from the breach of the regulations, but because the patient will suffer therefrom. In this connection it may be noted that the Holiness hut is peculiarly private and can be used as a sanctuary. The hearth is therefore most intimately bound up with the interior of the hut.

Raw meat and cold water are sources of great danger to a here person, and must be 783
kept away from him. All my informants denied that water ever became here, but every 776
here person has to be carefully protected from it, and reintroduced to it with much ceremony once the period of seclusion is over. I have a good many facts which show that water is endowed with a peculiar potency by the Holiness, which is perhaps not wonderful if one considers how valuable a thing it is in their extremely arid country. One instance may suffice to show its power. The Holiness which dances, or *Iyéi-dzy*, never touches [71]
cold water, and never washes from year's end to year's end. His power resides, as it were, in the dirt which clings to his body, and this is always an ingredient in any medicine he gives. Should he touch water this power would be diminished, and complete immersion in water would cause the disappearance of all his potency. The chief Christian Goliath gave me an account of such a happening at Ramah in the time of his grandfather, when a *Iyéi-dzy* who had been using his power for evil was ducked in the pond by the chief's [48]
orders, and pushed under again as his head appeared above water. Thereafter his evil powers were gone.

The clothing and utensils of the patient also become here, but these are a source of 783
danger to others than himself. Their's is the peril if they inadvertently make use of them before he finally discards them and gives them to the person taking care of him. An instance was given me of a woman who brought her husband to death's door by striking him with her *Iyéi*, or petticoat, when she was here.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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son. In the feminine form, /Uis, it applies to the wife's mother and the son's wife when a man is speaking. It applies to the husband's mother, the son's wife, the husband's sister, and the brother's wife when a woman is speaking. 601

The husbands of two sisters call each other /Gâmirab or /Gâmab. The wives of two brothers call each other /Gâmas.

/Ouras is a term sometimes used for the son's wife when a man is speaking. It is a general term applied to women who have married into the uli.

Practically all the old regulations with regard to marriage have broken down among the Hottentots. Marriage with any first cousin is now permitted, though on the other hand the older people are resisting the marriages of first cousins at all, whether direct or cross cousins. There is a difference here from tribe to tribe, some of them being more influenced by European contacts than others but the tendency in all is the same. All my older informants are agreed that the marriage of direct cousins was out of the question in the old days. With regard to the cross cousins there is some difference between the tribes. In some of them, e.g., the //Hakobou, the Gei //Khauas, the //Khau /Goas, marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is said to have been far more usual than marriage with the father's sister's daughter. The terminology for these relatives seems however to show that in the past marriage with both the mother's brother's daughter and the father's sister's daughter was allowed, and the behavior towards these relatives confirms this. In addition, I have illustrations of both kinds of cross cousin marriage in genealogies. 582 177 184

The duties and privileges of relatives. The chief consideration in the behavior of Nama to one another is the relative ages of the people concerned. Respect for age is inculcated in every possible way, and the whole social organization of the people is an illustration of the fact. In the family deference and respect must always be paid to elders. Thus, of a number of brothers the eldest always has the honored place and the first voice in any debate. Family feeling is strong, however, and brothers generally hold together. The behavior proper to brothers is due to all those people called by the name "brother," and little difference is made by the fact 602 [775]

8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
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from the fields of some few farmers over there;[1] and even to-day they still keep up this practice. They comprise about three or four hundred men capable of bearing arms, apart from women and children;[2] and subsist upon prime sheep and cattle. They are subject to a chief named Chore, who has a brother called Ockling; both go about in greasy skin cloaks, which are amongst them a sign of great wealth in livestock.

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Gorinchaiquas.

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The Goringhaiquas[3] our countrymen term Capemen, because ever since we have been there they have always lived the nearest of all the Hottentots to the Cape of Good Hope, claiming the place as their own. They exceed the Gorachouquas in numbers, both together totalling about one thousand able-bodied men,[4] and inhabit some ninety-five mat-covered huts. They are subject to a chief whose native name is Oogmoa; but our countrymen call him the "Fat Captain," which, owing to his enormous fatness and protruding paunch, is remarkably apt.[5]. In 1662 he was, according to the accounts of men already there, quite a hundred years old. He had two sons, the elder named Oninghaikwoma and the other Oogmoa.[6] They both, especially the former, always tried to overrule their father, old Oogmoa, and to play the part of master, attempting by every possible means to do away with him, and so obtain the chieftainship first for the elder and then for the younger.[7]

[Bell]

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[1] van Riebeeck (Letters Dem., II, 230) gives their numbers as "about 300 men capable of bearing arms." Dapper's mistake is easily understood, if we assume that he or his informant confused the Goringhaiqua and the Gorachouqua in this respect.

[2] In van Riebeeck's journal he is often referred to as "the fat captain," "the fat old man," "the thick fat captain," etc.

[3] van Riebeeck's journal mentions three sons of Oogmoa, viz. Oringhkinema (elsewhere Oninghkamma), called Schacker by the Dutch; Khamma, alias Jan; and Oogmo, alias Peter (D. Sept. 30, 1660).

[4] van Riebeeck says of them in this connection: "They are a bad lot, who do not respect their own chief Oogmoa, the old man, more than a child. By birth the latter was their true chief . . . Yet they sometimes ignored him altogether as a beggar. This had also become evident to us, as that we had daily had him well as a poor man. That they still retain him is more for the sake of appearance than reality, as Oninghkamma, his eldest son, is playing the chief, and cared too little for his father" (D. Dec. 1, 1662).

19. Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694)1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Divitiae Afris omnis palmarius, arma, et pecus sunt. Pinus ambo nullos habent, migrare per arva illis mos, atque errantes circumportare penates, bobis citatis velocitatisque duros quaerunque quos, etiam homines et cistellas portantibus, et quo proia et pascua grupem. Inuerasque secta vocant, hac cum magalibus suis aperti, vagantesque circumcolluvies ire, pecuque quoad consolabuntur pascere. Illudque sepia (ut supra dixi) nocte continere, alternatim brachia pedesque plaustu, et ducere chorus lascivire corporis motu incolumitate luna, intempestà comessationque noctu canentes.

Morbo et senio confectum, solum mutantes in tugurioio proiici clausum, instructum commeatu, aquâ et igne, pro silvestribus, singulari immanitate depositum, omnique sensu destitutum. Barbarorum barbarissimi nobis visum, nullo omne sui consanguinitatis respectu, a lege alimoniorio alimentumi derelinquunt.

Femineo ex intervallo arvumque et in terram depactis figilis contextique vaticulis, transversè alii invicem vimine contexuntur, orbiculatum conveyrum, testudineumque, et circiter quinque pedes altum, ejusque diametro duodenos non excedentis, tugurioium cum bicubitali ostiolo orienti obverso aedificant, illudque craticulis seu mattis, storeisve ex junco bibliove scirpove affr]abré textis, quandoque etiam pellibus, contra coeli intemperiem aestuantesque ventos contegunt, et hoc tectum totam familiam, teneroque agnellos, adultos cum vitulis excipit, in cujus centro omnibus fovendis cibisque praeparandis foculus perennis luxet, ibique ut plurimum libero corde confabulantur, temporumque caochinis et ovillationibus Abaridas, concordiâ conjunctissimi terunt: Ita legibus cynosuram!

Hae etiam figlina sua vasa dextrè satis conflant, ex fusili argillâ, quam oblonum dorsum deportant, eamque in parietem jugiandium magnitudine sectam, pellique inpernam, aspernamque subindè quantulacunque aquiculâ, ne nimium arescat, in lutosum aut triduum insolant, hinc depulticiam in cylindrum, botellarum instar, ulnae magnitudine singulos, redigunt: primumque in gyrum, turbinemque inflectunt

[*] This custom of abandoning elderly people to their fate was still being practised by the Hottentots in the middle of last century (see authorities quoted by Schapera, op. cit., 389). Hahn, inquiring into the reasons for the practice, was told by the Namaqua that it was sometimes done by very poor people who had not

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
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The chief riches of the natives in our parts are arms and cattle. They have no fixed abodes, but move from place to place carrying their homes with them on their wanderings. Their oxen, travelling at a very rapid pace, carry all their burdens, even men and pack-saddles, on their backs. Where meadows and pastures invite the flocks and herds, there they scatter themselves with their little huts, living the life of wandering friars. Till even shadows fall they pasture their flocks; at night they enclose them, as I said above; then to the clapping of hands and stamping of feet, with wanton gestures they ply the dance beneath the presiding moon far into the stilly hours of night.

When changing their terrain they abandon those enfeebled by sickness or age. The man to be left is shut up in a hut with a supply of provisions, water, and fire to furnish forth his funeral feast, but destitute of every other aid. This singular cruelty is practised by the natives near us, who are the most barbarous of their race. They regard neither sex nor kinship in thus rejecting all obligations to maintain the sick and old.[1]

The women make the huts, and in this wise. Numerous rods and poles are fixed in the earth and bent over in the shape of an arch, forming a hemispherical, convex, tortoise-shell-like frame. The sides are woven across with pliant withies. The hut is about five feet high, the diameter does not exceed twelve feet, and there is a little door three feet high looking to the East. The huts are covered with skilfully woven mats of rush or reed, or sometimes even with skins to afford protection against the inclemency of the sky and the raging winds. This roof covers the whole household, including the newborn lambs and the cows with their calves. In the centre is an ever-glowing hearth to keep all warm and cook the food, and there for the most part the native women pass their time, discharging their hearts in gossip, and laughing and joking, the best of friends and cronies. Picture to yourself the elegant salon!

The women also make earthenware vessels quite skilfully out of moistened clay. They dig up the clay and carry it home, where it is cut up into portions the size of a walnut. These are placed on a skin and sprinkled with a little water from time to time to prevent them getting too dry, and exposed to the sun for two or three days. They are then kneaded into cylinders, like bottles, each an ell in

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[1] enough food to support their aged parents. "But sometimes," he adds, "even if there was food enough, and if people, especially women, who had cattle of their own, gave suspicion that they secretly did mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation" (*Tweede Gooms*, 86, 74).

14:Stein L-S (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

776 vultures and hyænas, they are also considered ǂgaunaǂ
777 khoa. A man who is killed as a criminal, or who is
761 slain according to the rules of the vendetta, or a slave
764 killed by the master, or enemies killed in the battle—
all are left to the animals of the desert to be feasted upon, *so that they will be entirely annihilated*, they are also considered ǂgaunaǂ khoa.

● 838 There is also a cruel custom among the Khoikhoi, of which I have convinced myself—that is, to leave elderly people to their fate; some food and water is left with them, and the younger folks remove to another spot. Inquiring into the reason of this so repulsive practice, I was told that it sometimes was done by very poor people, who had not food enough to support the aged parents. But sometimes, even if there was food enough, and if
[78] people, especially women, who had cattle and milk-cows of their own, gave suspicion that they were under the influence of ǂGaunab, and did secretly mischief by practising witchcraft, they were left to die from starvation. The people, awe-stricken, were almost compelled to fly from them.

776 It is, therefore, not strange that ǂGaunab, the evil-spirit, is also invoked. They promised him offerings so as not to provoke his anger, as is the case among the ǂAuni-Nama, in the Walefish Bay territory. I am almost certain that, before the Khoikhoi-tribes separated, this bad Being, ǂGaunab, was generally worshipped, and is of much older date than Tsûiǂgoab and Heitsi-eibib. It
[71] is strange that the ǂGabe-Bushmen, the ǂAi-Bushmen, the ǂNumin, and especially among these the Heiǂgum (or wooden moss), all know ǂGauna, whom they fear as an evil-doer, while we find no trace of the name Tsûiǂgoab or Heitsi-eibib. For these reasons I am of opinion that the ǂGauna was an evil demon, known already to the primitive Hottentot race, before there was a distinction between San and Khoikhoin. Tsûiǂgoab, however, was a secondary Being, the national God of the Khoikhoi branch.